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MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY
OF THE
PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

BY W. F. GANONG.

I.—THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

Since of making many books there is no end, it has come to pass that no one can keep track of such a multitude without the help of lists and classifications of them. Hence we have books which are lists of books, that is bibliographies; and if books continue to multiply, as of course they will, a science of arrangement of knowledge about them must arise, which perhaps will be called Bibliology.

For the existence of proper bibliographies I can think of several reasons, which may be arranged as follows :

First, there is the hugeness of the number of books, or rather of things printed, which makes it impossible for any but specialists, and hard even for them, to keep up with the advance of knowledge which they mark in any subject, while he of more general interests is well-nigh helpless. Proper bibliographies, kept up to date, enable all to know what exists upon any given topic.

Second. When future students undertake the thorough investigation of any topic, the literature will be so voluminous that without bibliographies it will be nearly impossible to find what relates to that subject, and hence much of value will be lost to them, and much already in print will be done over again. It is our duty, and will assist in the advancement of knowledge in the future, to make complete contemporary bibliographies.

Third. Many books of great interest are likely to be lost sight of by those who would value them, unless called to their notice by bibliographies. I have heard people lament the paucity of good literature relating to New Brunswick. How many know even of the existence of such works as Dean Sage's book, "The Restigouche," by far the most superb work ever issued about any part of the Atlantic Provinces, and probably about any part of Canada. With its clear and entertaining English, its valuable original observations on the physiography, natural history and ethnology of the Restigouche region, its splendid illustrations and its sumptuous make-up in type, paper, form and binding, it is a work to warm the heart of all lovers of any kind of books. Then there is Governor Gordon's "Wilderness Journeys," a classic in the literature of the esthetic utilization of our noble rivers, while Dashwood's "Chiploquorgan," Hardy's "Forest Life in Acadie," Alexander's "L'Acadie," Adams' "Field and Forest Rambles," and parts of many

other books, provide an altogether unusual abundance of good matter on outdoor life in New Brunswick. Those whom the early days of New Brunswick interest would, if they knew of it, find Mrs. Beavan's "Life in the Backwoods," — an account of country life fifty years ago, written by a cultured and observant Englishwoman — most entertaining, while Head's "Forest Scenes," and many others which I cannot even mention here, contain valuable and interesting materials upon New Brunswick history, natural history, topography, etc. There is no lack of literature about New Brunswick, but only of proper bibliographies to make it known to us.

Fourth. Perhaps the most marked feature of present educational progress is the tendency to bring students into contact with original sources of information, so that they may derive their knowledge freshly and at first hand. The naturalist sends his pupils directly to nature, and the historian is coming to send his to the original documents upon which our knowledge is founded. It will be a happy day for the schools of the Atlantic Provinces when the narratives of Cartier, Champlain, Denys and other explorers are made accessible to them in the original or in literal translation. Another tendency in higher education is the encouragement of the comprehensive and comparative study of numbers of books, which cultivates the habit of sifting and correlating evidence to the formation of more

correct judgments. Proper bibliographies show to all where original sources of information lie.

Fifth. In no way can so good a bird's eye view of the position of a country in science, art, literature, etc., be gained as is given by a good general bibliography of the works relating to that country and of the works of the authors it has produced.

Sixth. People may, through bibliographies, come to know the historic or other value of books they possess, and to make good use of them.

Seventh. Bibliographies are guides to the most delightful of hobbies—book collecting. Blessed is the man who hath a hobby, who, in his hours of leisure, or when his business goes not well, can turn for pleasure and rest to some subject which never palls. As there are many men, so there are many hobbies, and of these the greatest is book-collecting in some limited field. There are charms in musty bindings, yellow paper, s's like f's and grotesque cuts, in quaint style and in projection of oneself into other times where he can walk superior like a prophet, for being in one age he yet knows the future. Book-collectors often are bibliographers, and bibliographers generally are collectors.

Thus far the uses of bibliographies; let us next examine what kinds there are. They fall at once into two sorts; first, the descriptive, and second the critical. Of these naturally the first is by far the more common.

Its aim is simply to give a descriptive list of works, without attempting to estimate their value. Under description it gives author's full name, full title of the work, place and date of publication, and name of publisher, number of pages, size, number and kind of illustrations, to which may be added any interesting or important facts about its rarity, cost, etc. The ideal of such a bibliography is completeness, which may go so far as to include in it not only everything printed, but even all known manuscripts relating to that subject. Conspicuous and altogether admirable models of this kind of work are Pilling's Bibliographies of the Indian Languages, published by the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, all of which are in the highest style of bibliographical art, and one of which, the Algonquian, includes all works relating to our own Indians. Another good example is Gagnon's "Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne," recently published at Quebec. Critical bibliographies aim not only to describe works, but to estimate their value. They can be made only for special subjects by specialists, who alone are capable of estimating the value of each work. The bibliographical notes in Winsor's "America" and in Bourinot's "Cape Breton" are conspicuous examples.

As to range and limits, these naturally vary with the subject, which may be a country, a science, the works of some man, or any particular topic whatever. Then they are of all degrees of completeness, from those which

aim to include every publication upon a subject down to those which are only lists of the principal works consulted during some study. Often they aim to include only books and pamphlets, excluding articles in periodicals, since these latter are much less likely to be overlooked or lost. Another sort will include only those publications which contain original matter, and so through a variety of plans: but in all the ideal is completeness and impartiality.

Passing now from generalities to our particular subject, we have to examine what bibliographies there are for New Brunswick. They are as follows:

- (1) *Bibliotheca Canadensis.* By Henry J. Morgan. Ottawa, 1867. A fairly complete list, alphabetically arranged by authors, of works of Canadians, from which those of each province must be picked out.
- (2) Notes upon New Brunswick Books. The St. John *Sun* at intervals in 1885.
- (3) Bibliographies of works relating to the Mollusca and Echinodermata of New Brunswick. Bulletins of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, Nos. 6 (1887), 7 (1888).
- (4) Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages. By James C. Pilling, Washington, 1891. Under the words Miemae, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Abnaki, may be found complete references to bibliography of the languages of our Indians.

(5) New Brunswick Bibliography, the Books and Writers of the Province. By W. G. MacFarlane, St. John, 1895. Re-printed from the *St. John Sun*.^{*}

Up to the present this is the only attempt to produce a complete bibliography of New Brunswick, and forms an excellent foundation for progress towards a final satisfactory work. It is fairly complete, but is marred by great unevenness of treatment, too scanty description of works, misprints, citation of anonymous works under names of their authors when known, without hint that they were published anonymously, and lack of repetition or cross references in cases of joint authorship. Despite these faults, however, it is a welcome and valuable work.

(6) Bibliography of the Members of the Royal Society of Canada. By John G. Bourinot. Trans. Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XII, 1895. Under the names of Bailey, Dawson, Ells and Matthew will be found lists of publications, many of which relate to New Brunswick.

(7) Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne. By Phileas Gagnon, Quebec, 1895. Most excellent, but very incomplete for New Brunswick.

(8) Bibliography of Publications relating to the Natural History of New Brunswick from 1890-1895. By S. W. Kain. Contained in Bulletin No. 13 of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, 1896. This bibliography is to be issued henceforth yearly for the current year. A most praiseworthy undertaking, and one which could advantageously be imitated by the Historical Society.

* Some additions to this list have been offered to the *St. John Sun*, and will probably appear in it during the early part of this year.

All of these bibliographies are but a beginning; one complete and worthy of the province will be built upon them. But before it can be ideal, there are certain other subjects which must be worked out, which are as follows:

- (1) Periodical literature relating to the province. This can be done comparatively easily for popular articles by the aid of Poole's Index to Periodical Literature.
- (2) Publications of the government, including Journals of the House of Assembly, etc.
- (3) Publications of societies.
- (4) List of periodicals published in the province.
- (5) List of New Brunswick newspapers.
- (6) List of maps of the province.
- (7) List of views, engravings, etc.
- (8) List of manuscripts contained in government archives and private collections.

Nos. 6 and 7 of this list I am myself at work upon, and the others I commend to my fellow students.

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MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

BY W. F. GANONG.

II.—RELICS OF THE FRENCH PERIOD IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

We have an involuntary reverence for all witnesses of history, be they animate, or inanimate, men, animals, or stones.—(F. MARION CRAWFORD in the Century Magazine for July, 1896.)

In the study of history there are two phases. The first and higher, cultivated chiefly by professional students, is the investigation of the origin and evolution of institutions and movements, and it studies facts for the light they throw upon principles. The other, followed by the antiquarian, genealogist and chronicler of local events, is the study of facts for their own sakes, the deduction of principles being secondary, and its motive is largely that expressed so well in the above quotation. The things of which I am to speak in this paper are of a purely antiquarian sort; in themselves they may be commonplace enough, but—they have witnessed history.

The French Period in New Brunswick left us a part of our population, but otherwise produced no effect upon the institutions, character or language of our people. Our English, New England and Loyalist ancestors did not absorb nor mingle with the French, but fought and harried them ; and the descendants of that people to-day are politically but not socially a part of us. The French Period is therefore rather of interest for its picturesqueness than of importance for any influence it has had upon us or our affairs. The charm of this period is finely expressed for us by Parkman in these words :

The hard and practical features of English colonization seem to frown down every excursion of fancy as pitilessly as puritanism itself did in its day. A feudal society, on the other hand, with its contrasted lights and shadows, its rivalries and passions, is the natural theme of romance : and when to lord and vassal is joined a dominant hierarchy with its patient martyrs and its spiritual despots, side by side with savage chiefs and warriors jostling the representatives of the most gorgeous civilization of modern times,—the whole strange scene set in an environment of primeval forests—the spectacle is as striking as it is unique.—*Introduction to "The Romance of Dollard,"* by Mrs. M. H. Catherwood.

In New Brunswick but few relics of this period remain to us and the three following are the most important.

1. *Dedication Stone of the Indian Church of Saint Jean Baptiste built in 1717 at Meductic.*

This is and is likely to remain our most valuable and interesting relic of the French Period, partly for its associations, partly for its record of historical fact, and partly because it bears upon its face the indubitable evidence of its own authenticity. It was found at Meductic in 1890 by Mr. Archie Hay of Lower Woodstock, and the inscription was first published in "Canada," a monthly journal edited by Rev. M. R. Knight of Benton, N. B., but with the erroneous supposition that it was a grave-stone. Mr. James Vroom of St. Stephen was the first to recognize its true character and to call the attention of others to it. A full description of the stone with a cut was published in the REVIEW for March 1893, and Rev. W. O. Raymond further refers to it in the light of contemporary history and reprints the cut in his valuable series on the history of Carleton County in the Woodstock *Dispatch* in 1895-6 (Articles 21 and 22). Finally, in the number of the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society just issued (Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 221-272), Mr. Raymond has treated the subject of the stone and its contemporary history with an exhaustiveness which leaves little, if anything, to be said on these subjects, and he has given a new photographic reproduction of it which is very satisfactory. The only relic at all like it that I know of is the corner stone of the church at

Beaubassin, *i. e.*, near Fort Lawrence in Nova Scotia, of which the inscription with its date, 1723, is given in Rameau de Saint Père's "Colonie fœdale," (2nd. ed. Vol. II, p. 64), but nothing is said as to where it now is.

The Meductic stone is still in possession of Mr. Hay and I believe he is willing to present it to a public collection in the Province; and it is a striking illustration of the great backwardness of New Brunswick in matters of culture, that near the close of this nineteenth century there is not in the province a single historical museum or other public historical collection to which a valuable object like this stone may be presented, with the assurance that it will be properly cared for and made accessible to the public. There are those of us who could tell of other losses which the Province is suffering through this lack.

2. *The Chapel Bell of the Indian Church at Kingsclear.*

The Indians at their village at Kingsclear, above Fredericton, are called to their church by the same bell which their ancestors heard sounding from the church of Saint Jean Baptiste at Meductic a century and a half ago. I have not seen this bell and can give no description of it, except that the fleur-de-lis is said to be inscribed upon it; but its history is fairly clear. Rev. Father O'Leary, who is now in charge of this mission, has written me that in a register of 1767, in the writing of

Charles Francis Bailly, then missionary, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, is the following entry :

The last Indian at Medoctic having died, I caused the bell and other articles to be transported to Ekpahaugh.

Ekpahaugh was the Indian village at Springhill, and that at Kingsclear is its direct successor. In Colonel John Allen's journal (in Kidder's "Military Operations") referring to Ekpahaugh under date July 3, 1777, we read:

The Indians came to a consultation on the critical situation and resolved to meet the soldiers. . . . Immediately they took down their bell, struck their camps and removed. . . . All the effects worth removing, cannon, etc., were carried and concealed on an island, then all hands crossed the river.

There is a tradition that the bell was carried to Madawaska, but there is no evidence for this. When in 1794, after the sale of Auepaque (Ekpahaugh), the Indians moved to the present Indian village, they, no doubt, took the bell with them, though we have no record of where it had been in the meantime.

3. *The Athol Canon.*

Three miles above Campbellton an intervalle point extends northward into the river. No son of New Brunswick can stand here for the first time and not thrill with the pride which makes patriots. All about him rise the splendid hills in a grandeur not to be matched elsewhere in the province. Behind him lies

one of the finest farms in the land, and near by are the ruins of "Athol House" so long the hospitable home of a family of those grand Scotsman who have made northern New Brunswick's chief wealth. Before him is a placid basin where a noble river meets the waters of a great bay, and here occurred one of the most striking and least known events of our history, the last sea-fight in North America under the banners of England and France. At his feet lie relics of that battle in two French cannon.

These cannon, from their associations and unquestionably authenticity, are hardly inferior in interest to the Meductic Stone, though unlike it they give us

no new historical facts. They lie at the extremity of the point. They were formerly mounted on wooden blocks, but by the settling of these, one is tipped out of position, and the other is upside down on the ground.

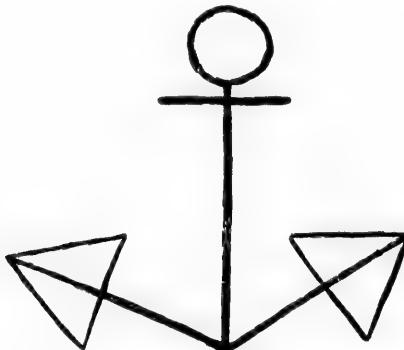


FIG. 1.

They are of different pattern though of about the same size, nearly ten feet in length, seventeen inches in

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diameter at the butt, and five and a quarter inch bore. On the one still on the blocks, there are cut two anchors, much rusted, one near the muzzle and fairly distinct, of which an exact tracing reduced to one-third natural size is given in Figure 1; and the other faint and farther back. On the other gun the fleur-de-lis is twice cut or cast into the metal, once near the touch-hole, and from this the tracing in Figure 2 (reduced to one third) was made, and again farther forward. These



FIG. 2.

marks are well preserved, since the gun is upside down and they are underneath and protected from the weather, but this position makes it necessary to do some burrowing in order to see them. The shaded parts in Figure 2 are rough gouges in the metal. On this gun are also marks like a "P" and a "G."

The French origin of at least one of the cannon is established by the presence of the fleur-de-lis. I think the anchor on the other is a symbol or seal of the French marine, for on a French chart of 1760, in my possession, an anchor, though of different shape, is thus used.

But there are documents which tell us more of their history. Dr. Robb, former president of the University of New Brunswick, collected materials for a history of the province, and among his MSS. at present in posses-

ion of Rev. W. O. Raymond, is the following note in his writing:

Jan. 1855.

Mr. R. Ferguson of Athol House near Campbellton Restigouche called & spoke of the destruction of the French squadron with transports by Capt^o Byron in the Baie Chaleur. . . .

There are two guns at Athol House one spiked one of which was got from vessel (other from Battery Pt.) Another gun is in Busteed's chimney from Battery Pt. B. has also found in old ship—silver forks—spoons—swords—bombs cemented into soft sectile mass.

The guns above referred to are 5 in. calibre—10 feet long—one with fleur-de-lis—other with anchors on it.

Mr. R. Ferguson here referred to was the son of Robert Ferguson, a native of Logierait, Scotland, who came to New Brunswick in 1796, and founded Athol House, which he made the centre of a great business and noted for its hospitality.* He or his son mounted these cannon before Athol House, where they often were fired to celebrate holidays or other special occasions to be honored. There are several references to them and to Athol House in books. Cooney's "History of Northern New Brunswick and Gaspé," published in 1832, a rare work, which, though containing many errors, is of considerable historic value, gives a full

* He is buried in the little burial ground on the point and his monument gives further facts about him. He died in 1851. Athol house was burned two or three years ago and not re-built.

account of the events with which the cannon are associated, and I shall quote this book below. In Charles Lanman's "Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces," 1856, Vol. II, pp. 54-70, is a full and appreciative account of this region and its people, much about the Fergusons, and a cut of Athol House. Johnston's "Notes on North America," 1851, (Vol. I, p. 409), refers also to the cannon, though with some errors. They are spoken of again in Governor Gordon's "Wilderness Journeys," (1864, p. 34); for they were fired to welcome him on his arrival from his trip down the Restigouche. He says:

The sun had set.... The sea was calm as the sky.... The echoes of the cannon fired from Atholl House reverberated grandly in the Canadian valleys, being echoed and re-echoed from mountain to mountain, like prolonged peals of thunder in the still evening air.

Again in a valuable illustrated article on the Restigouche in Harper's Monthly for March 1868 (Vol. XXXVI, p. 430), we read :

Two iron cannons that once belched forth destruction from "Battery Point" upon the invading English, are now mounted upon a plateau at "Athol House" and still do occasional service in the way of firing salutes on the anniversaries of the "Queen's Birthday" and the "Landing of the Loyalists."

There are other references to them and contemporary events in a valuable series of articles on the history of this region by Rev. J. C. Herdman, published in the

St. John "Daily Sun" in 1883, and reprinted in the Campbellton "Enterprise" in 1896.*

The battle of Restigouche was fought in 1760, and was not only the only naval engagement of any account ever fought in New Brunswick waters, but it closed the struggles on the sea between England and France in North America. It has received little notice from historians. Parkman does not mention it, though Hannay and other local writers refer to. The only original account known to me is the semi-official description in the London Magazine for 1760, reprinted by Cooney (p. 212, compare also 211), from which the following is copied :

"London, 8th September, 1760." By despatches received from Captain Byron, Senior officer of his Britannic Majesty's Ships at Louisburgh, and dated 26th of July, it appears that Captain B., upon receiving intelligence from Brigadier General Whitmore, that a French fleet had sailed up Chaleur Bay, proceeded with the *Fame*, *Dorsetshire*, *Achilles*, *Scarborough* and *Repulse*,

* It should be reprinted in pamphlet form. It is a curious phase of historical study in New Brunswick, showing how far the devotion of a few students exceeds appreciation of their labors by the public, that so many valuable series of articles on local history, not to mention single papers, have appeared only in newspapers, with no call for them in another form. Thus I recall Mr. Herdman's series just referred to ; Mr. Hannay's on the History of the Loyalists in the St. John *Telegraph* in 1893-94 ; that in St. Croix *Courier* on Charlotte County in 1892-93 ; Mr. Raymond's on Carleton County in the Woodstock *Dispatch* in 1895-96 ; Mr. Fenety's Political Notes in *Progress* in 1893-94 ; Mr. Macfarlane's on Fredericton in the St. John *Sun* in 1892 ; Mr. Milner's in the Sackville *Post* ; the many by M. Gaudet on the Acadian settlements in *Le Moniteur Acadien*, and others.

in quest of them. Having destroyed one French ship, *La Catharina*, in Gaspé Bay, Captain Byron proceeded to a large river, called by the Indians *Rustigushi*. Here he found the remainder, consisting of the Marchault of 32 guns; the *Esperance* of 30; the *Bienfaisant* of 22; and the *Marquis de Marloze* of 18; together with twenty-two sloops and small vessels. "When our fleet appeared off the *Rustigushi* harbour, the enemy proceeded up the river, and anchored above two batteries, mounted on the North side of it. These being but indifferently served, were soon silenced; and the ships, after a short resistance, were all sunk or taken. Captain Byron then destroyed the town of *Petit Rochelle*, containing upwards of two hundred houses; and also both of the batteries."

References to the French ships and the return of some of their crews to France occur in the "Canadian Archives" for 1887, p. cxxii.

The site of this battle is known beyond the possibility of a doubt. It was fought on the basin before Athol Point. The sites of the principal batteries on the Quebec side are called to this day *Battery Point*, and *Point La Garde*. *Point a Bourdeau* preserves probably the name of the French commander. The site of *Petit Rochelle* is also known; it was opposite Athol Point, extending from Officer's brook to Broadlands.* The position of the

+ On a published French Chart of "Port Ritsigouche" of about 1760, copied from an English one of 1760, the shoal near Meguacha Point is named *Basse d'Achilles*; that near Fluerant Point is *Bas fond de Dorsetshire*; *Point La Garde* is *Boyron's Pointe*; *Battery Point* is *Fame Pointe*; and *Cross Point* is *Repulse Pointe*. Thus are recorded the names of the commander and of four of his ships.

event is further fixed by the many references to the wrecks of the ships formerly visible in the basin. Thus Cooney speaks of them, (pp. 217-219) as do Lanman and Herdman, and the following note by Dr. Robb, a part of the one already quoted, is of interest:

The hull of a vessel of about 700 tons which had apparently been blown up—near Mission Pt. at officer's brook.

Hull and part of stem dry at low water—it was explored this year during dry season and high tides. Found balls, staves, (?) bombs, copper & grindstone crank.

3 fortified points—Battery Pt. Little Battery Pt. & Pt. La Garde. English vessels entered Restiguiche in pursuit—a Nova Scotian who had been prisoner on board French ship at Campbellton escaped by swimming & informed English who were at Pt. La Garde of retreat of French—English landed at Pt. La Garde, & by a detour behind shore ridges reach French Battery at head of tide when French surrendered. Old Mr. Ferguson had heard this from Nova Scotian himself.

The traditional account of Byron's advance up the Restigouche, rendered very difficult by the shoals, is given with greater fulness by Mr. Herdman.

All this have these cannon not only witnessed but taken part in. Yet they lie in neglect, perhaps even in danger of the fate which always menaces such objects—the junk-dealer's scrap-pile. It would be a public-spirited act, and one for which posterity would thank them, if the citizens of Campbellton would mount these

cannon upon a firm stone foundation with an inscription briefly reciting their history. If, in addition, the part of this beautiful and historic Point surrounding them, even but an acre or two, could be secured and set aside forever for the public, it would form a most appropriate monument for the Jubilee year of Her Majesty, and a worthy contribution to the higher life of the province from her loyal subjects of Campbellton.

4. Other Relics.

Excluding books, maps, coins, etc., of which there are a great number, and various other small objects like hatchets, I know of but two other relics of this period worthy of special mention. One is a gold ring, found in 1859 near the site of Fort Nashwaak and figured and described in Mr. Hannay's paper on Fort Nashwaak in *Stewart's Quarterly* for October, 1867. On it is a small cross and the letters I H S. As Mr. Hannay supposes it was no doubt the property of a priest, perhaps of Father Simon or perhaps of Father Elizee, the Sieur de Villebon's Chaplain. I do not know where this ring now is. The other is a small but well made and much ornamented dagger, which was found some years ago in York County, and is now in Mr. George Batson's collection at Campobello; but no more of its history is known.